

megválaszolatlan

'Authors take sides on Vietnam'

Edited by Cecil Woolf and John Bagguley
24 Victoria Square, London SW1, England
Telephone: Victoria 1950

September 10, 1966.

Dear Dr. Lukács

The following authors have already kindly sent, or promised, contributions to this symposium:

Kingsley Amis
W. H. Auden
A. J. Ayer
George Barker
Isaiah Berlin
Edmund Blunden
John Braine
Jocelyn Brooke
Brigid Brophy
Rupert Croft-Cooke
Len Deighton
Daphne du Maurier
Nell Dunn
Pamela Frankau
David Garnett
John Galsworthy
Graham Greene
Geoffrey Grigson
Rayner Heppenstall
Elspeth Huxley
Hammond Innes
Storm Jameson
Pamela Hansford Johnson
Marghanita Laski
Eric Linklater
Hugh MacDiarmid
Colin MacInnes
Wolf Mankowitz
Ethel Mannin
Olivia Manning
Kingsley Martin
Arthur Miller
Nancy Mitford
Nicholas Monsarrat
Doris Langley Moore
A. Moorehead
Iris Murdoch
Edna O'Brien
C. Northcote Parkinson
Harold Pinter
William Plomer
Stephen Potter
Anthony Powell
J. B. Priestley
D. N. Pritt
Kathleen Raine
Simon Raven
Herbert Read
Bertrand Russell
William Sansom
N. F. Simpson
C. P. Snow
Stephen Spender
Julian Symons
Kenneth Tynan
Sylvia Townsend Warner
Vernon Watkins
Auberon Waugh
Arnold Wesker
Dennis Wheatley
Angus Wilson
Colin Wilson
Leonard Woolf

In June 1937, W.H. Auden, Louis Aragon, Stephen Spender and Nancy Cunard circulated a questionnaire to 150 writers in Britain, asking:

"Are you for, or against, the legal Government and the People of Republican Spain ?"

"Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism ?"

The answers -- mainly for, some against, and a few indifferent to the cause of the Republic -- were published in a small book entitled Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War. The book was of more than passing interest, as may be seen from the enclosed page comprising excerpts.

It occurred to us that a similar book on the war in Vietnam might prove a useful record of the views of writers -- in fact, a cross-section of the intellectual community -- at this time. A concern for events in Vietnam is by no means confined to Britain, and we are writing, therefore, to more than three hundred authors in the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere, requesting brief answers to the questions:

Are you for, or against, the intervention of the United States in Vietnam ?

How, in your opinion, should the conflict in Vietnam be resolved ?

We intend to publish the replies as a small book to appear in the autumn; and would warmly welcome your participation in the questionnaire.

Please pardon the circular.

Yours sincerely,

Cecil Woolf
John Bagguley.

MTA FIL. INT.
Lukács Arch.

FOR

THE GOVERNMENT

Samuel Beckett

! UPTHEREPUBLIC !

Cyril Connolly

FASCISM IS THE FIRST PROCESS by which the cynical few exploit the idealism of the many, by violence and propaganda through the use of a dictator. Its aim is to maintain the status of the rich by using the poor to fight battles. This cannot be done until the whole nation is rendered both warlike and servile. Those who will not make soldiers are not required; those who are not required are eliminated. What we can learn from Spain is the order and extent of that elimination before the stultifying of the human race can proceed. Intellectuals come first, almost before women and children. It is impossible therefore to remain an intellectual and admire Fascism, for that is to admire the intellect's destruction, nor can one remain careless and indifferent. To ignore the present is to condone the future.

Alastair Crowley

DO WHAT THOU WILT shall be the whole of the Law.

Franco is a common murderer and pirate: should swing in chains at Execution Dock.

Mussolini, the secret assassin, possibly worse.

Hitler may prove a "prophet"; time will judge.

Love is the law, love under will.

Aldous Huxley

MY SYMPATHIES are, of course, with the Government side, especially the Anarchists; for Anarchism seems to me much more likely to lead to desirable social change than highly centralised, dictatorial Communism. As for "taking sides"—the choice, it seems to me, is no longer between two users of violence, two systems of dictatorship. Violence and dictatorship cannot produce peace and liberty; they can only produce the results of violence and dictatorship, results with which history has made us only too sickeningly familiar.

The choice now is between militarism and pacifism. To me, the necessity of pacifism seems absolutely clear.

Sean O'Casey

I AM, OF COURSE, FOR a phalanx unbreakable round those who think and work for all men, and I am with the determined faces firing at the steel-clad slug of Fascism from the smoke and flame of the barricades.

MTA F
Lukács

AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

Arthur Machen

MR. ARTHUR MACHEN presents his compliments and begs to inform that he is, and always has been, entirely for General Franco.

Evelyn Waugh

I KNOW SPAIN ONLY AS A TOURIST and a reader of the newspapers. I am no more impressed by the "legality" of the Valencia Government than are English Communists by the legality of the Crown, Lords and Commons. I believe it was a bad Government, rapidly deteriorating. If I were a Spaniard I should be fighting for General Franco. As an Englishman I am not in the predicament of choosing between two evils. I am not a Fascist nor shall I become one unless it were the only alternative to Marxism. It is mischievous to suggest that such a choice is imminent.

NEUTRAL?

T. S. Eliot

WHILE I AM NATURALLY SYMPATHETIC, I still feel convinced that it is best that at least a few men of letters should remain isolated; and take no part in these collective activities.

Ezra Pound

QUESTIONNAIRE AN ESCAPE MECHANISM for young fools who are too cowardly to think; too lazy to investigate the nature of money, its mode of issue, the control of such issue by the Banque de France and the stank of England. You are all had. Spain is an emotional luxury to a gang of sap-headed dilettantes.